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II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary

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B. C. 323. Conquest by Alexander the Great.
302–237. Pharnawaz expels the Macedonians.
C. A. D. 318. Introduction of Christianity. Conflict with Persia.
371. Shapur II of Persia subdues the country.
446. Vakhtang I. Alliance with Persia.
571. Beginning of Bagratid dynasty.
640–734. Spread of Mohammedanism by the Arabs.
1048–64. Incursions of the Seljuk Turks.
1099–1125. Reign of David II.
1184. Accession of Tamara.
1236. Invasion of Ghenghiz Khan.
1386 and 1393–94. Invasions of Tamerlane.
1442. Partition of Georgia by King Alexander I.
1492. First appeal for Russian assistance.
1586. Defensive treaty with Russia.
1619. Russian intervention between Shah Abbas I and Teimuraz of Kakhetia.
1638. Mingrelia swears allegiance to Russia.
1650. Imeretia swears allegiance to Russia.
1717. Commercial treaty between Peter the Great and Persia.
1722. Russian expedition in the Caucasus.
1724. Russo-Persian Treaty. Cession of Caspian provinces to Russia.
1734. Surrender of Caspian provinces to Persia. Restoration of Bagratid dynasty.
1769. Heraklius obtains Russian assistance against the Turks.
1783. Treaty of Georgievsk. Heraklius declares himself vassal of Russia.
1801. Annexation of Georgia by Russia.
1813. Treaty of Gulistan between Russia and Persia.
1828. Peace of Turkmanchay. Final peace with Persia. War between Russia and Turkey.
1829. Peace of Adrianople.
1830. Risings in Daghestan.
1859. Surrender of Shamyl and his tribesmen.
1877. Russo-Turkish War. Ineffectual risings in the Caucasus.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin. Acquisition of Batum, &c. Development of Baku oil-fields.

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175 1902–5. Riots in Baku. Rising in Georgia.
1917. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Batum, &c., ceded to Turkey.
1918. Georgian, Armenian, and Daghestan Republics established.

(1) *Early History*

103 THE Caucasus was well named by the Arabs 'Jebel Assuni', the Mountain of Languages, for the great range shelters as many different tongues as the famous Tower of Babel.

The lands stretching from the valley of the Phasis (Rion) north-eastwards were known to the ancients as Colchis and Iberia. The name 'Georgia' came later to be applied to the kingdom whose nucleus is covered roughly to-day by the Government of Tiflis; at the height of its power Georgia ruled from the Caucasus to the Aras (Araxes), and from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

175 Recognized history begins with the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., and the subsequent expulsion of the Macedonian governors by Pharnawaz, son of a prince of the original dynasty and a Persian mother. The chronicles of the period that follows make constant mention of the Abkhasians, who held the Black Sea coast and range from the Phasis north-westwards; of the Asses or Osses (Ossetes), a Median tribe whose territory lay in the hills from Mount Elbruz to the Dariel Pass; and of the incursions of Mongol Khazars and Alans from the steppes of the Caspian Sea, to meet which the fortress of Dariel was built at the northern end of the defile in 140 B.C. Persia, in war and peace, was the predominant factor, though her hold on the allegiance of Caucasia was insecure.

At a later period the introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 318, reopened the conflict with Persia. Shapur II ravaged the country in 371, and the general left by him to hold the conquered lands built a fortress on the site of the present city of Tiflis.

The Georgians now began to seek help from their co-religionists in the Roman Empire, but Persia was

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too near at hand to be resisted; and, when in 446 175 a strong king—Vakhtang I—arose in Georgia, although he re-established Christianity, he adopted a policy of union with Persia and assisted in the campaigns against the Roman Emperor Jovian. Vakhtang not only achieved great military successes, but built schools for his subjects and strengthened his frontiers. He also transferred the capital from Mtskhet to Tiflis.

(2) *Bagratid Dynasty. Struggle with Islam*

The line of Vakhtang failed in the sixth century; and, Byzantium's power being then in the ascendant, the Georgian throne was filled in 571 by a nominee of the Greek Emperor, one Guram, a Bagratid, whose descendants held the Georgian crown for the next twelve centuries. The supremacy of Byzantium in the Caucasus, always fiercely challenged by Persia, was finally extinguished by the Arabs, who from 640 onwards constantly invaded the Caucasian States and spread Islam amongst the pagan mountaineers. The successes of Musslimieh in 684 and of Abu Moslem in 734 ended in the undisputed sovereignty of the Caliphate; the Bagratid dynasty was, however, confirmed in the possession of the Georgian throne.

In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks under Toghrul Bey and Alp Arslan twice laid Karthli (Georgia) waste, forced the king to embrace Islam, and sacked Tiflis. But the Georgians still resisted and clung to Christianity; they regained their religion and their freedom under David II, who bears the title of Restorer (1099–1125). The constant wars and invasions had split the country into separate kingdoms; cities and surrounding regions bestowed on emirs, vassals of the Seljuks, constituted a bewildering crowd of Moslem principalities, with each of whom in turn Christian Georgia was at war. The distant successes of the Crusaders had their effect on the Caucasus, and, fighting courageously against the encroaching Moslems, the Bagratid kings gradually won back their lost lands.

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175 The great-granddaughter of David II, Thamar or Tamara, succeeded her warlike father Giorgi III in 1184 and cleared her country of invaders from the Caucasus to the Aras. Her son, Giorgi Lashi, 1212–23, added Gandja (now Elisavetopol) to Georgia; but his sister and successor, Rusudan, offended the Sultan of Khorasan, and his vengeful invasion was followed in 1236 by that of the hordes of Ghenghiz Khan, who ravaged the country and carried off Rusudan's son as hostage. Georgia next passed through the hideous devastations of Tamerlane in 1386 and 1393–4. Alexander I freed the country from Tatar rule (1413–42), but, having united Georgia as in the days of Pharnawaz, Vakhtang, and Tamara, he committed the irreparable error of dividing it between his three sons. Civil war broke out, and Guria, Mingrelia, Svanetia, and Abkhasia were lost for ever to the Georgian kings. Too weak to maintain themselves, the various states became the pawns of the Porte and Persia, the Turks taking Trebizond and Sukhum and establishing their hold on Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia, the larger portion of which territories accepted the Moslem faith. Karthli and Kakhetia, nominally under Persian vassalage, cast about for help.

(3) *Growth of Russian Influence*

On the northern side of the Caucasus, where the Khazars, now displaced by the Tatar hordes, had ruled, the growing power of Russia was making itself felt.

So early as 1492 the King of Kakhetia had sought Russian assistance against the Turks and Persians; and outposts of this new power appeared in the valley of the Terek in 1505, in the shape of Cossacks of Riazan, who, at first fugitives from their Tsar's wrath, were in 1579 holding territory near the present Grozni in the name of the Tsar, Feodor Ivanovich. Alexander II of Kakhetia appealed to him for help against the Tatar Shamkhal of Tarku; and in 1586 a treaty was concluded in which the Tsar exacted a yearly tribute in return

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for his assistance. Co-operation between the new allies broke down at the first effort, which resulted in the annihilation of the Russians on the Sulak; and, although the Tsar assumed the titles of 'Lord of the Iberian Lands, of the Tsars of Georgia and of Kabarda', further defeat in 1604, at the hands of the Russian generals Burtuvlin and Pleshchagev, was a poor confirmation of these claims. The Georgians, however, continued to look for Russian intervention. In 1619 Teimuraz of Kakhetia, then in hiding, obtained the Tsar's intercession with Shah Abbas I of Persia, who had driven the last king, Alexander, from his throne on suspicion of treachery. 175

Mingrelia in 1638, and Imeretia in 1650, swore allegiance to Russia in return for help against the Porte, which the Tsars were not able to furnish; and the appeal of Vakhtang VI of Kakhetia to Peter the Great was little more efficacious. With a view to establishing trade with India by way of the Volga and Caspian, Peter had made a treaty with Persia in 1717, and he undertook an expedition in 1722 ostensibly to avenge an affront to his traders by the Lesghians, who were in revolt against Persia, then in the throes of the Afghan invasion. The expedition was, in fact, merely a pretext for annexing the Caucasian possessions of Persia. Peter took Derbent and Tarku, and established further Cossack settlements between the Térek and those of the Grebentsi, as the Cossacks about Grozni were termed; the treaty concluded by Peter with Turkey and Persia in 1724 gave to Russia Derbent, Baku, Daghestan, Astarabad, and Mazandaran, but acknowledged Turkey's suzerainty over Georgia. After the Persian revolution of 1734, however, Russia surrendered her Persian provinces to Nadir Shah, who expelled the Turks from Georgia, and restored the Bagratid dynasty. The Cossack settlements in the Caucasus remained and increased, gradually including Kumyks, Chechens, and Kabards. In 1763 the Prince of Little Kabarda became an Orthodox Christian and swore allegiance to the Tsar; and the fort of Mozdok was built for his protection

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175 against the Lesghians. While Russia's influence grew in the east, in the western Caucasus the Ottomans took tribute from the Cherkess (Circassians) and the Abkhasians (nominally of the Moslem faith), continued to dominate Mingrelia and Imeretia, and held, as a Pashalik of the Empire, Akhaltsikh, the centre of the slave-trade in Georgian boys and girls. In 1769 King Heraklius (Irakli) of Georgia made an effort to shake off the Turk. Brother-in-arms of Nadir Shah, whom he had accompanied on an expedition to India (1738–39), and who had bestowed on him the crowns of Karthli and Kakhetia in return for his successful campaigns against the Lesghians, Heraklius, though the vassal of Persia, knew her to be helpless from internal troubles, and therefore made an agreement with Russia, which procured him the support of an army under Count Totleben in his effort to deliver Imeretia. Totleben left Heraklius to subdue Akhaltsikh alone, relieved Kutais, failed at Poti, and returned to Russia without accomplishing anything of value. Heraklius continued a valiant struggle against the Turks and the Daghestan tribes, their allies, until Russia's conquest of the Crimea in 1783 again awoke hopes of aid. By the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) he openly acknowledged himself vassal of the Empress Catherine, who was steadily increasing her grasp of the Caucasus. Vladikavkaz was founded in 1785 on the site of the Ossetian village, Zaluch, adding another link to the chain of forts stretching from the Caspian to the Azov. Ten years later Persia was again strong enough to attempt the recovery of her lost suzerainty; in 1795 Aga Mohammed Khan suddenly marched on Georgia, and, while the Russian general, Count Gudovich, remained inactive, Tiflis was sacked and the country put to fire and sword. Not until the autumn of 1795, when the disaster was complete, did troops under Zubov attack and defeat the Persians at the mouth of the Kura. The Emperor Paul recalled his army next year, and Heraklius died in 1798, leaving his country a prey to Turk and Persian.

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(4) *Annexation of Georgia*

His son and successor, Giorgi XIII, was utterly unable 175
to cope with the situation, and, in their extremity, the Georgian nobles offered the country to the Tsar. The deed of surrender was signed by the King in 1799, and in 1801 Georgia, Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia were declared by the Tsar Alexander I to be Russian provinces. The royal family, except some insurgent members of it, were transferred to Russia, where they received estates and pensions. A Georgian noble, educated in Russia, Prince Tsitsianov, was made Governor of the new territories; the Georgian Church was incorporated with the Russian; the Russian code of laws was established, but modified and adapted at first to national custom and the code of Vakhtang VI.[1] The poverty of Georgia necessitated a large Russian subsidy to maintain the government and troops, the very small existing revenue being devoted to the gradual restoration of the towns. Tsitsianov began the great military road by the pass of Dariel between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis in 1804, stormed Gandja, 1805, and perished before Baku. The Turks held Imeretia against Russia, assisted by King Solomon until his death in 1815; the small kingdom was then absorbed into the other provinces.

(5) *Treaty of Gulistan*

War continued between Russia and Persia for the possession of Karabagh[2] and Shirwan[3] until 1813, when the Treaty of Gulistan finally ceded them to Russia, together with Sheki, Talish, Gandja, Kuba, and Derbent. It remained to hold the new territories, where the Moslems of Daghestan and Chechnia defied Russia's power for half a century to come. The Cossacks were the means chiefly relied on to overawe

[1] This was superseded by the Russian Code in 1841.

[2] Now the Shusha, Jevanshir, Sangesur, and Jebrail districts.

[3] Now the Shemakha, Geokchai, and Jevat districts of the Baku Government.

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175 the independent mountaineers; forts along the Terek and the Sundja were multiplied. General Yermilov, appointed Governor and commander-in-chief in 1816, grappled with the problem in a spirit of ferocious severity that even outdid that of the tribesmen. The Lesghians were the first to feel the weight of his hand, next the Chechens; but the sullen quiet his methods for the moment produced was broken by war with Persia in 1826.

(6) *Wars with Persia and Turkey*, 1826–9

Yermilov's strange inactivity at the outset of hostilities caused his recall and the appointment of Prince Paskievich, whose capture of Erivan and other successes resulted in the Peace of Turkmanchay in 1828, by which Russia acquired the khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan. Paskievich then devoted himself to the Turkish campaign, Russia having taken up the cudgels for Greece. Kars and Akhaltsikh fell successively; and Paskievich, recruiting his ranks from Tatars and Armenians in Transcaucasia, supported by Guria, hitherto suspected of Turkish sympathies, advanced into Armenia and occupied Erzerum. When he retired at the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, the fortresses of Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikh and the greater part of the pashalik of Akhaltsikh were added to Russia.

(7) *Muridism; War with the Tribes in Daghestan and Chechnia*, 1830–59

The Mohammedan tribes who had risen in the hills in response to Turkey's call to arms now absorbed Russia's attention. On the extreme west, from the mouth of the Kuban to Mount Elbruz, the Cherkess and Abkhasians, in communication with Turkey by the Black Sea, kept up desultory warfare until 1864. The chief threat to Russia's supremacy lay, however, in the east, in the regions of Chechnia and Daghestan, where the doctrine of Muridism, inciting the tribes to a holy

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war against Russia, was preached by the Imams Kaza Mullah, Hamzad Bek, and Shamyl, and in time united the tribesmen from the Caspian to the Dariel Pass. Between the two districts lay tribes submissive to Russian authority, the Khevsurs, Pshavs, Tushes, Svanetians, Ossetes, and Kabards. The forts stretching from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian were held by Cossacks, organized into various *voiskos*, which from 1832 each represented a regiment and became part of the Imperial military organization. The Cossacks kept up the roads and the postal service, provided maintenance for the drafts of Imperial troops sent to reinforce the line, and cultivated the land, drawing labour from the friendly tribes, who were obliged to give their services for fixed periods. The Cossack himself was soldier and farmer in one, ploughing his fields with his gun at his side, ready for the signal of cannon-shots that collected the settlers—two were a call to arms, four signified a raid, eight an attack in force—signals which in case of need were passed from fort to fort. The enemy around them was brave, desperate, animated by religious fervour and by the fierce doctrines and examples of Kaza Mullah, slain at Ginri in 1831, and his disciples, Hamzad Bek and Shamyl, the latter of whom became leader in 1834 and began in failure, through the defection of the Avars, the most powerful of the Daghestan tribes. Four years later, Shamyl's efforts won back the Avars, and by 1845, in spite of frequent reverses, his word swayed the whole country-side. 175

The absence of roads and the length of the Russian line of communications favoured the tribesmen operating, in Daghestan, on a wild barren plateau intersected by deep ravines, and in Chechnia amid hills covered with dense forests. Punitive expeditions had no lasting effect. The one undertaken by Prince Vorontzov in 1845 against Shamyl's Chechnian stronghold, Dargo, resulted in the loss of two-thirds of the Russian troops in a terrible return march through the forest, and increased the Murids' confidence. Next

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175 year Shamyl broke past the Sundja forts and appeared in Kabarda; but the aid of the western Caucasus failed him. The Russians now adopted a plan, conceived by Yermilov's lieutenant, Veeliamenov, but never before put in practice—that of gradually advancing the Russian defensive line, and of systematically clearing away the forests as the troops closed in on Shamyl. So well aware was the Imam of the value of the screening trees that his law ordained the death of any Murid who should fell one.

Prince Vorontzov's operations were delayed by the events of the Crimean War, made memorable in these regions by General Williams's defence of Kars for five months against overwhelming numbers. The tribesmen took no concerted action with Turkey, and, in spite of the awe Shamyl still inspired, his severity was gradually loosening his hold. Veden, his second stronghold, was captured in 1858, and his escape to the valley of the Andi Koisu only delayed his capture to the following autumn, when he was surrounded at Gunib and taken prisoner by Prince Bariatinski. All the tribes laid down their arms; the reluctant submission of the Abkhasians and Cherkess followed in 1864. These peoples steadily migrated to Turkish territory.

(8) *War with Turkey*, 1877

When war again broke out in 1877 between Russia and the Porte, Daghestan, Chechnia, Circassia, and Abkhasia rose in response; but there was again no concerted action, and the tribes soon quieted down after the signing of peace. The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin (1878) added to Russia Kars, Bayazid, the country as far as Soghanlu Dagh (including the valuable rock-salt mine of Kulp), Ardahan, and Batum, which was declared a 'free port' and attracted commercial enterprise. The Baku oil-fields, exploited now by foreign capital, opened up an undreamt-of source of wealth, by which Tatars and Armenians chiefly profited. The Georgians took little part in these

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developments; the people, brave and energetic in national emergencies, were unenterprising and unambitious; the nobles, much impoverished by the Act of Emancipation which restricted their right to the labour of the people, lived on their estates or served in the army; Armenians and Tatars were the energetic elements of the very heterogeneous populations, and many amassed huge fortunes in the oil-fields or concerns connected with them. 175

(9) *Revolutionary Movement*, 1902–6

It was among these elements that trouble first broke out (1902–5) in the terrible riots at Baku at the time of general unrest in Russia which followed the war with Japan. Political agitation had its effect on the western Georgians, awaking dreams of autonomy which the ill-judged government of the last few years had put them in a state to welcome. The Caucasus was placed under martial law; the outbreaks in the Government of Kutais were suppressed with the utmost severity by General Alikhanov; and during 1906 tranquillity was generally restored. But neither the oil-fields of Baku nor the trade of the port of Batum recovered their former prosperity; and the attitude of the Armenians, whose schools and cherished Church property were threatened by the Russian Government's policy of nationalization, continued to be resentful, while the Pan-Islamic sympathies of the Tatars were carefully encouraged by Turkey.

(10) *Effect of the Great War*, 1914–18

With the outbreak of the European War in August 1914, the old antagonism of Christian against Moslem reappeared. Russia's successes in Armenia at first held in check the Mohammedan element in her midst; but, after the internal revolution of March 1917, the situation became increasingly difficult. Though till that date Georgians and other Transcaucasians alike

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175 had fought gallantly in the Russian armies, an anti-Russian spirit now began to make itself felt, and in May 1917 Georgia proclaimed the spiritual independence of her Church. Meanwhile, after a period of internecine war, the mountaineers of Daghestan formed a separate republic, which was peaceably disposed towards the temporary republic created in Transcaucasia (see p. 33), where Armenians and Georgian were loyally upholding the Allied cause and keepin the gates against Turkey.

In Georgia the movement for autonomy had been rapidly growing; and on May 26, 1918, two hours after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Diet—which had been formed from Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars to uphold some form of order—the Georgian National Council, elected in the previous November, proclaimed the independence of their country. Within a week or two, cut off from supplies, and without resources, with the Baku Tatars actively assisting Turkey in the East, the Georgian Republic was obliged to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and cede to Turkey the disputed districts of Batum, Ardahan, Akhalkalaki, and Akhaltsikh.

Meanwhile the Armenians and Tatars also claim to have established separate independent republics, with capitals respectively at Erivan and Baku. The capital of the Georgian Republic is at Tiflis.

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175 The influence on history of this formidable range of the Caucasus has been profound. To the Ancients the Caucasus represented the confines of geographical knowledge; all that lay beyond was mystery and darkness, "the Land of Gog and Magog." The Caucasus protected Southern Asia like a wall. It divided the Eastern World into two: to the north was the land of the Nomads, while to the south the peoples of the Mesopotamian river-valleys and of the Mediterranean coast-lands developed their civilisations, for centuries undisturbed. And when during the first millennium B.C. the Aryan tribes broke in upon the Mediterranean and Semitic races, the Caucasus, as a rampart along the bridge between the Euxine and the Caspian, deflected their course. The Aryans were compelled, by a great circular movement, to sweep down on Iran and India by the steppes to the east of the Caspian, and to enter Asia Minor by Scythia, Thrace and the Bosporus. A thousand years later a fresh wave of nomads, Teutonic, Slavonic and Turki, found the Caucasus obstructing their road into Persia and Roman Asia, and rode on across Scythia into the Balkans and Western Europe. And after another thousand years Seljuk Turks and Mongols, by breaking into the Perso-Arab Empire on its north-eastern frontier, at last took the wall by a great flank march.

175 133 There were two gaps in the mountain-wall which gave possible access to the south to an invader from the north. The first was the deep gorge through the central mountains, the Daryal—Dar-i-Alan, the "Alan road," the Iberian Gates of the Ancients; the second was the swampy littoral of the Caspian, which constituted a passage-way between the mountains and the sea, and which at one point—the Derbend of the Persians, the Bab-al-Abwab of the Arabs, the Caspian Gates of the Romans—narrowed to two miles. These two points every energetic ruler of Iran or Armenia was careful to control. Hence the valley of the Kur constituted a frontier march to the kings of South-west Asia, and its history is mainly a history of war, of incursions by the northern peoples and of counter-attacks against them, or of mutual rivalry for control on the part of the rulers of Iran and Asia Minor.

As the Caucasus was the strategic focus of the struggle between the settled folk of Southern Asia and the nomads of the northern plain, so the Armenian Plateau was the subject of perennial conflict between the rulers of Asia Minor and of Persia. From Lake Gökcha (Sevan) to the Taurus the Armenian passes command all the roads into Persia, Meso-

1 [see cat. 116, p 171 -- Analyst]

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potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

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A. HISTORY

SECTION I—GEORGIA AND THE CAUCASUS

I

A GLANCE AT CAUCASIAN HISTORY UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

175 THE earliest inhabitants of Transcaucasia appear to have been a semi-troglodytic race of neither Semitic, Aryan nor Turanian stock. It is reasonable to suppose that the tribes were linguistically and physically connected with, and under the occasional political influence of, the Hittites, whose sway extended over Western and Central Asia Minor, and who then (*c.* 1100 B.C.) represented the most cultured portion of the races of that portion of the globe.

Several centuries before the Christian era the influx of Aryan tribes from the west and of Semitic peoples from the valleys of Mesopotamia had assimilated these early tribes; and Trans-Caucasia passed with the rest of Western Asia under the domination of the Persian King of Kings. From henceforward its history was fated to be a succession of invasions and counter-invasions which left it little peace and little time for normal development.

Persian control and cultural influence lasted for some 300 years, until the victories of Alexander of Macedon removed the overlord and eventually left a somewhat legendary King Pharnavaz trying to organise an independent kingdom in what is now Georgia—but in vain. The country next fell under the sway of Mithridates King of Pontus; and the defeat of the latter by Pompey in 65 B.C. brought Transcaucasia into direct relations with the Roman world and with the Greeks, who through their traders had founded colonies in the rich West Georgian lands of Colchis and Phasis as early as the seventh century B.C. Commerce of East and West gradually began to open up the country; but its development was delayed by the

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perpetual wars between the Eastern Roman and Persian Empires which for so many years ravaged the fair lands of Asia Minor. 175 ●

The first important period in Caucasian history is the latter half of the fifth century, when a powerful local king, Vakhtang Gurgaslan (434–467), finally established the supremacy of the new Christian religion, and removed his capital from Mtskhet to its present site at Tiflis. A hundred years later Western Georgia[1] became a Roman province under Justinian; and in 622 the severe defeat of the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius bred hopes of a long period of tranquillity. [795]

But in vain. Only fifteen years later an invasion of Arabs from the south overran the country, and the Moslem conquerors penetrated even into the mountain-ranges of the Caucasus itself. They failed, however, to establish themselves west of the Suram ridge, and under the rule of their own Bagratid Kings the Georgians to the west and south-west flourished amazingly. The next invasion was that of the Seljuks in 1072; but the First Crusade attracted these unwelcome visitors away to defend the south-west, and a Golden Age of comparative prosperity ensued for Georgia, lasting for 120 years and more. Of the monarchs who reigned during that era none is more celebrated than the wonderful Queen Thamara, of whom legend has made an almost celestial figure of beauty, wisdom and virtue. And indeed she appears to have been a woman remarkable for her moderation, humanity and personal culture. At her death in 1212 Georgia was predominant in the Caucasus, her authority extending from the Black Sea almost to the Caspian, and from the main range of the Caucasus to the Araxes and the Upper Chorokh.

Her successors were not so fortunate. Eight years after her death a vast horde of Mongols appeared from the south-east, where, after pursuing the fugitive Shah Ala-ud-Din to the Caspian, they had devastated all Northern Persia. In the following year they advanced on Tiflis and cut to pieces a Georgian army which had rapidly been collected by King Giorgi Lasha. In 1223 they reappeared, ravaged Southern Georgia and moved on into Russia by the gap of Derbend. On this Queen Rusudan, daughter of Thamara, took advantage of the recent Persian disaster and attacked the Persians. She was however heavily defeated by Shah Jelal-ud-Din, who advanced to Tiflis and sacked it. Five years afterwards the

[1] The name of Jorzan, a tribe in the Upper Kur Valley, appears first to have been applied by the Arabs to the whole country. The name Georgia is in no way derived from the Greek.

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175 Mongols came back and occupied the country; and had it not been for the tact of one of the nobles (Avak Mkhargrdzelidze by name) in securing the patronage of the great Khan Ogotai, the land would have been overwhelmed in the general ruin of Central Asia and Persia. By 1247 the whole of Georgia had passed definitely under the control of the Mongols. The latter however left the administration in the hands of the natives, contenting themselves merely with taking heavy tribute from the country, commandeering whatever happened to suit their fancy, and compulsorily enrolling in their forces large numbers of the young men, many of whom were by no means averse from a life of fighting and opportunities for plunder and distinction.

During the middle third of the fourteenth century conditions in Georgia steadily improved; but at the end of that century she again received a heavy set-back through the invasion of Timur Leng (Tamerlane), who ravaged the country during the last decade, and through the appearance of the Black Death, which swept away thousands of the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Osmanli had appeared on the scene, and the old struggle for the Armenian Plateau began again, this time between the Persians and the followers of Othman. The seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 cut off the Caucasians from all contact with Western civilisation, and the Georgians were for a time hard set to maintain their religion and their existence against attacks by the Moslem nations on either side of them. None of these combatants however permanently held Central Transcaucasia, and the Georgian princes of Mingrelia, Imeretia, Karthalinia and Kakhetia, by opportunist diplomacy and careful treachery, succeeded in maintaining a limited independence. But the difficulties incurred by alternately conciliating and defying the Sultan or the Shah required that the different parts of the country should be sufficiently independent of the others to be able to pursue an exclusive policy in accordance with local conditions and with their comparative propinquity to Persian or Turk. Thus the former Kingdom of Georgia was divided into seven or eight mutually independent districts, all owing allegiance in varying degrees to one of the two Mussulman Empires, and all loosely united by common ties of religion and language.

It would be wearisome to record at length the details of the sordid history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will be sufficient to indicate the broader division of the principalities and the respective positions of the two

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Mussulman States towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Persia at that time exercised a comparatively effective suzerainty over the Mussulman Khans of Eastern Transcaucasia, and controlled on her northern frontier Derbend, and on her western the fortresses of Ganja and Erivan, respectively commanding the routes into North-west Persia by the valleys of the Kur, the Arpa Chai, and the Araxes. The King of Karthalinia and Somkhetia, a descendant of Giorgi, son of Alexander, the last King of all Georgia, was the vassal and nominee of the Persian Shah, and was under the obligation to profess an official devotion to the tenets of Islam. The King of Kakhetia, a descendant of Alexander's son Dmitri, was also a vassal of the Shah, but—owing to the remoteness of his possessions and to the proximity to the mountains of his chief towns, Telav and Signakh—was less pliant and often defiant. In the region south of Daryal the family of Bibelur, Kabards by extraction, and *eristavs*[1] of Ksan and the Araghva, were virtually independent of both the Kings of Karthalinia and of Kakhetia. To the west, in the upper valleys of the Rion and the Ingur, the Svanetians remained almost isolated from the Georgians of the south, and virtually independent under the Dadians—the Georgian family of Ghelovani—until the end of the seventeenth century, and later the Kabardan family of Dadish Kilian. To the south-east of Svanetia the district of Radsha, under eristavs of the family of Chkeidze, were nominal dependents of the Dadians of Mingrelia. To the north-west the Abkhazians maintained complete independence, under princes of the family of Sharvashidze, claiming descent from members of the family of the Shirvan-Shah exiled to Abhazia during the reign of David the Restorer. In South-western Georgia Turkish influence was predominant.

During the sixteenth century the Turks had occupied the valley of the Chorokh; Ahkaltsikh had fallen into their hands in 1545; Ardahan and Ardanuch in 1550; two years later they had built a fortress at Kars, to command any Persian advance from Erivan up the valley of the Arpa Chai. The Georgian mountain-tribes of the Chorokh region, Lazes and Ajars, became completely Muhammadanised, and the Georgian family of Jaqueli, *Atabegs* of Akhaltsikh, acquired the position of hereditary Pashas of the fortress of Akhaltsikh. The Turks never established themselves beyond the Ajar hills; and for this Sir John Chardin gives as a reason that the staple diet of

[1] Nobles.

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175 the lowlanders—pork and wine—was unsuitable to the soldiers of the Khalif and unfavourable to the propagation of Islam. However this may be, Guria, the lowland strip between the Ajar hills and the Rion, was tributary to the Turks, and the Guriels, of the Svanetian family of Varvanidze, whose seat was Ozurgeti, generally brought a contingent into the field to support the Pasha of Akhaltsikh. The Dadians of Mingrelia, of the family of Chikhovan, and the Kings of Imeretia, descendants of David Narin, with their seat at Kutais, were subject to the Turks in approximately the same degree as the rulers of Karthalinia and Kakhetia were to the Persians, and in such a position were alternately the allies and the victims of the Sultan.

To sum up—at the end of the seventeenth century the Persians ruled South-eastern Transcaucasia and dominated Karthalinia and Kakhetia; the Turks held the valley of the Chorokh and virtually controlled Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia. The northern districts of the Araghva, Svanetia and Abkhazia were in practice independent. Finally, the mountain tribes—the Cherkesses, Kabards, Ossets, Chechens, and Lesghians—recognised no authority, but alternately raided the territories of, or allied themselves with, one or other of the three Bagratid Kings in Georgia.

II

SOCIAL ORGANISATION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

101 It will have been noticed that the above historical sketch deals chiefly with Georgia—that somewhat vague but fertile territory lying south of the Caucasian Range and watered by the Rion to the west and the upper stream of the Kur and its tributaries to the east—whilst little or no space has been devoted to the inhabitants of the mountains themselves. The reason is fairly apparent, for we may say that these mountain tribes, at all events during the period with which we have been dealing, have had no history worth recording. Living as they did in their rough mountain fastnesses, cut off from each other not only by the difficulties of their surroundings but by the immense variety of different languages that they spoke, the only matter of interest in their communications with the outer world lay in the spheres of commerce and religion; and on these we shall touch in the process of description.

The mountain tribes of the Caucasus may be classified for practical purposes in two main groups, those of the Western

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 169-176 -- Analyst]

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III

THE COMING OF THE RUSSIANS

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Tsars of Moscow had finally thrown off the yoke of the Golden Horde and established a nucleus of the Russian State, they found themselves confronted on the west by an aggressive Poland, dominating many hundreds of miles of Russian land, on the north-west by a Sweden which controlled all the Baltic coast, on the south by a Turkey which choked any development towards the Black Sea. Each of these three Powers in turn aspired to dominate Russian politics; the first two supported their pretenders to the Russian Crown, the third periodically sent the Crim Khans to burn Moscow, Kursk or Orel, and ravage all the broad lands around. In such circumstances did the Muscovite Tsars evolve the vast strategic plan the ultimate object of which was to be the control of their own gates—of the Baltic and the Black Seas. And the history of Russian expansion has been the history of the development of this plan, of the great agricultural lords of Muscovy directing the march of their peasant soldiers towards the river-mouths, that they might sell their grain and hides and minerals without the warranty of Swede or Pole or Turk.

On the vast southern front of the Russian State the expansion assumed the form of a struggle with the Ottoman Porte for the control of the Black Sea, which may be divided into two phases: the wars to acquire the Crimea and the mouths of the Don, Dnieper and Dniester; and the wars to secure the western and eastern flanks and the fortress commanding the entrance to the inland sea—the Balkans, the Caucasus and Constantinople.

The first bands of Cossacks, the forerunners of the Russians, appeared in the steppes to the north of the Caucasus in the beginning of the 16th century. They settled along the northern banks of the Sunja, and along the Lower Terek, founding Tarku and Andreyevo. These received the names of Grebenski (*greben*, "a ridge") and Terek Cossacks. They mixed much with the adjoining Kabardan and Chechen tribes, and acquired many of their customs and methods of agriculture. "The Cossacks of that day," says Baddeley, "were probably at most the equals in civilisation of the Chechens and Kumiks, and certainly the inferior of the Adighé, to whom belonged

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175 563 the Kabardian princes and people." It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Grebentsi and Terek Cossacks felt the effective power of the Tsar, but in 1712 Peter the Great's celebrated admiral, Apraxin, received their official submission, and five years later they furnished a contingent for the ill-fated Khivan expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasski.

175 The gradual approach of Russia to the Northern Caucasus was of considerable interest to the Georgian princes. They saw in allegiance to the Tsar an alternative to the humiliating necessity of perennially seeking the patronage or protection of either of the two Mussulman Powers, and the more patriotic looked forward to the possibility of liberating and reuniting their country with the support of the great Orthodox Tsar. As early as 1586 King Alexander of Kakhetia had applied for Russian help against the Shamkhal of Tarku. A Russian expedition under the Boyar Khvorostin was cut to pieces by the Shamkhal (1594), but Tsar Feodor Ivanovich nevertheless assumed, somewhat prematurely, the title of "Lord of the Iberian Land, of the Tsars of Georgia, of Kabarda, of the Cherkess and Mountain Princes." The Shamkhal destroyed another Russian force in 1599, and the brief *rapprochement* between Russia and Georgia was terminated by the death of two of the principals to a dual marriage which had been intended to unite the families of Tsar Boris Godunov and of the Karthalinian Bagratids.

Throughout the seventeenth century intrigues continued without any definite results between the Russians and the Georgian princes. The heroic King Taimuraz of Kakhetia spent a long and arduous life in a struggle against the Persians and in vain journeyings both to Constantinople and to Moscow, to solicit foreign assistance. The Russians sent a mission on one occasion to Kutais (1653), and a few years later (1664) intervened at Isfahan in favour of a Georgian King who had, as a matter of fact, already been assassinated. But throughout the seventeenth century they had not the power, had they the will, to try conclusions with Persia or Turkey in Transcaucasia.

In 1722 Peter the Great, having pursued a chequered career of conquest against the Swedes on the Baltic and the Turks on the Black Sea, directed his attention to Persia and the Caspian. In Persia the last of the Safavid Shahs were confronted with civil war and a desperate Afghan invasion, and Peter took advantage of the anarchy by making an attack on Russian property at Shemakha the excuse for invading the

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●175 North-western Provinces of the Shah. The objects of his campaign were essentially maritime—i.e. the control of the Caspian littoral—and he confined his operations to the coast without interesting himself in Georgian affairs.

In the late summer of 1722 Peter sailed with a flotilla from Astrakhan, supported by about 30,000 regular troops and 70,000 Cossacks, who moved along the coast. He occupied Tarku, the Shamkhal's capital, unopposed, and after defeating the Utsmi of Karakaitagh received the submission of Derbend. In the autumn Peter returned to Moscow, but in the following year General Matushkin occupied the Khanates of Baku and Shirvan (capital Shemakha) and Resht, with all the Persian littoral of Gilan and Mazanderan. At the same time the Turks, acting in alliance with the Russians, occupied Tiflis, Erivan, Tabriz and Hamadan.

Hostilities dragged on until 1732. Peter was then dead, and the military power of Persia was revived under Nadir Shah, who had inflicted several defeats on the invading Turks. Further, the Russians were suffering severe casualties from malaria along the unhealthy southern coast of the Caspian. Accordingly in 1732, by the Treaty of Resht, the Empress Anne restored to Persia all territories south of the Kur. Three years later, war with Turkey on the Danube being inevitable, the Russians consented to retire to the Terek, leaving Baku and Derbend to Nadir Shah (Treaty of Ganja, 1735). This surrender was occasioned by the fear of a Turko-Persian coalition against them in Transcaucasia, and with the object of allowing Nadir to establish himself in Georgia to the disadvantage of the Turks.

For nearly a quarter of a century the affairs of Europe occupied the whole military strength of Russia, and the defence of Russian interests in the Caucasus was left to the plucky Cossack settlers along the Terek.

In 1763 the Treaty of Versailles achieved a temporary settlement of the affairs of Western Europe, and left Austria, Prussia and Russia free to pursue their schemes in the East. The Russian Empress, Catherine II, immediately began to develop the expansionist policy of Peter the Great, on her western frontier by the partition of Poland and on her southern frontiers by an attempted dismemberment of Turkey.

On the eastern side of the Black Sea the Russians, in preparation for a war with the Turks, began to strengthen the Cossack Line, and in 1765 built Mozdok, a proceeding which incurred the hostility of the Kabards.

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175 The situation in Transcaucasia had, since the Treaty of Ganja, been modified in favour of the Turks. The death of Nadir Shah (1747) flung Persia again into anarchy, and while the Turks entered all Western Georgia and reoccupied Kutais and Shorapan, the Karthalinian King Taimuraz and his son Irakli made themselves independent in Tiflis and seized the Mussulman towns of Erivan and Ganja. Taimuraz however was no less hostile to the Turks than to the Persians, and in 1760 he undertook a visit to Russia, where he died.

When the first Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1768, the Turkish troops on the Kuban coast attacked the Cossack Line, while their Kabardan allies sacked Kisliar, on the Caspian. On the other hand Todleben, the celebrated captor of Berlin (in 1760), crossing the Daryal with 400 men and four guns, entered Tiflis (1769). In conjunction with Georgian forces he then ousted the Turks from Kutais and Bagdat and laid siege to the Turkish fort at Poti. But here mutual differences between the Kings of Imeretia and Karthalinia and the Russian General made further operations impossible, and the Russians retired to the Line. By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) both Turks and Russians were to leave Imeretia and Mingrelia independent.

During the period of fifteen years which elapsed before Russo-Turkish hostilities were renewed the Russians were engaged in strengthening and extending the Cossack Line, and in consolidating their influence in the Northern Caucasus by expelling the natives and encouraging the settlement of Cossack families. The fortresses of Ekaterinograd, Giorgievsk and Stavropol were founded, and a line of forts and Cossack villages united Mozdok with the Sea of Azov.

By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji the Russians had expelled the Turks from the Crimea, and in 1784 they definitely annexed that peninsula. Nevertheless the Turks still controlled the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea, and held fortified posts at Anapa, Sukhum-Kale, Anaklia, Poti and elsewhere. These posts were a continual menace to the Russians, for their possession enabled the Turks to communicate with, to arm and to incite the mountain tribes.

The aggressive policy of Russia in the Northern Caucasus had already begun to disturb the minds of all the tribal chiefs, and, mutually hostile as they had always been, they gradually began to tend to combination, and, for lack of common ideals of national patriotism, Islam became the organ of their union. The brutal massacre of the Nogai Tatars at Yeisk in 1784, a

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sequel to the annexation of the Crimea, at last roused the tribes to common action. The remnants of the Nogais and the Cherkesses attacked the Russians in the Western Caucasus. But next year a sinister development occurred farther to the east. A prophet, Sheikh Mansur,[1] suddenly appeared at Aldi in Chechnia, preaching a Ghazavat or Holy War against the Christians. A Russian force took and burnt Aldi, but Sheikh Mansur later attacked in the forests and practically annihilated it. The news of his success brought him thousands of followers from Kabarda, Chechnia, Daghestan and the Kumik steppe, and he proceeded to attack Kisliar and other Russian forts. He was, however, defeated at Tatarub in Kabarda, and his heterogeneous force scattered. Sheikh Mansur then fled to the Western Caucasus, where he was welcomed by the Cherkesses.

In 1787 hostilities between Russia and Turkey were renewed, and the Russians sent three columns against the Cherkesses, which succeeded in breaking up their bands. Sheikh Mansur took refuge with the Turks at Anapa, against which stronghold the Russians made two unsuccessful attacks (1788 and 1789). As a result of these failures the Turks took the offensive, and the Seraskier Batal Pasha, landing in the Kuban, advanced against the weak and demoralised Russians with a force of 40,000 men. He was however defeated by the comparatively insignificant corps of Generals Hermann and Rosen, and next year (1790) the Russians stormed Anapa. Here Sheikh Mansur was at last trapped, and sent to end his days in the monastery of Soloviets on the White Sea. A year later the Treaty of Jassy terminated the war, and restored to Turkey her losses in the Kuban.

Meanwhile the Russians had become involved in heavy liabilities in Transcaucasia. In 1783 Irakli II—whose dominions included all Karthalinia and Kakhetia—fearing the revival of Persian aggression against Georgia, concluded with Catherine's representative the Act of Gori (July 24) by which he recognised the suzerainty of Russia, conditional on the support of Russian troops. Count Paul Potemkin, a cousin of the Empress's favourite, who had recently been appointed first Viceroy of the Caucasus, immediately proceeded to consolidate the alliance by the construction of a military road across the Daryal Pass, and a fort at the northern embouchure,

[1] The origin of this remarkable man is obscure. He is supposed to have been an Italian renegade from Montferrat, the son of a notary. See Baddeley, pp. 47-9 and note.

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175 which received the name of Vladikavkaz—"Conqueror of the Caucasus."

In the late autumn a garrison of two Russian battalions with four guns arrived at Tiflis. "The day was cold and gloomy, and the shivering Georgians remarked that their new friends had brought their climate with them; but they had brought something else, it was thought—or at least hoped—permanent protection, that is against the Tatars and Persians—and the sorely-tried inhabitants of Tiflis rejoiced accordingly."[1] On January 25, 1784 Catherine's Proclamation of suzerainty over Georgia was published, but the Russian troops were soon afterwards withdrawn, and King Irakli was left to his own resources.

In 1795 the new Persian Shah, Agha Muhammad Khan, prepared to re-establish Persian influence in the whole of Transcaucasia. He laid siege to the Georgian fortresses of Erivan, Shusha and Ganja, defeated a Georgian army in the field, and delivered up Tiflis to a six days' sack. The gallant old Irakli, deserted by all his sons, fled to Ananur, where he organised a small army and next year recaptured Tiflis. The Russians now intervened and occupied all the country as far as the Araxes, but the accession of the Emperor Paul caused a reversal of policy, and they suddenly retired to the Terek. The Persians again prepared to invade Georgia, but the murder of Agha Muhammad (1797) delayed operations. The new King of Georgia, Giorgi XIII, appealed for Russian protection, while his brother, Alexander, who pretended to the throne, joined the Persians. The latter, in conjunction with a Lesghian horde under Omar, Khan of the Avars, invaded Georgia but the arrival of a Russian force caused them to retire, while Omar was defeated at the junction of the Jora and the Alazan.

The danger was past, but Giorgi, who lay dying of dropsy at Tiflis, sent an embassy to St. Petersburg to beg the Emperor Paul to accept the Georgian Crown. On December 18, 1800 the Emperor's manifesto in compliance was published.

In 1803 Prince Tsitsianov, a Georgian by extraction, came to Tiflis to organise the Russian administration. He proved a most vigorous and capable man, and during his brief régime he did much to establish the power of Russia in Transcaucasia. "He found his unhappy country, untaught by the bitter past, still a prey to internal dissensions. . . . Convinced, therefore, that the safety and future well-being of the Khartvel race depended on the reunion of its component parts under Russian

[1] Baddeley, p. 21.

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rule, he exerted himself whole-heartedly for the extension of that rule." [1]

During the following ten years Russian power was consolidated and extended in the Caucasus by a number of brilliant officers, who successfully overcame the enormous difficulties involved in the organisation of the devastated Georgian Provinces, in the subjugation of mountain-tribes, and in resistance to the greatly superior military forces of Persia and Turkey. At this time Russia was engaged in a series of foreign wars which required the concentration of all her strength in Europe, with the result that the armed forces at the disposal of the authorities in the Caucasus were always ridiculously inadequate. "One hardly knows which to wonder at most," comments Baddeley, "the heroic tenacity of the Muscovite troops under such leaders as Kotliarevski, Portniagin and others, or the hopeless incompetence of the various Mussulman Powers, great and small, who, with everything in their favour, not only failed to throw back the northern invaders to the line of the Terek and the Kuban, but, beaten time after time by vastly inferior forces, lost ground in every direction."

To summarise the Russian operations during the years 1803 to 1813: in 1803 the Dadian of Mingrelia [2] was induced by Tsitsianov to surrender his sovereignty to Russia; in 1804 Imeretia was proclaimed a Russian Province, although it was not finally annexed until 1810; in the same year the turbulent Jaro-Bielokanis submitted, and the petty Lesghian sultanates of Elisu and Samukh were annexed; the Russians also occupied the Tatar Khanates of Ganja, Shusha and Nukha. But in 1806 Tsitsianov was assassinated during an unsuccessful attempt to take Baku; and in 1812 a Persian victory at Sultanbuda, and Georgian risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh seriously threatened Russian rule in the Caucasus at the moment when Napoleon was marching on Moscow. In the same year however the repulse of an Osset advance on Tiflis, the final defeat of the Georgian pretender Alexander in Daghestan, and a great victory won by Kotliarevski over a superior Persian force at Aslanduz on the Araxes restored the situation. In 1813 the discomfiture of the Persians was completed by Kotliarevski's occupation of Lenkoran, the capital of the Khanate of Talish and by the defeat of the Khan of Erivan. Finally, through the intervention of Sir Gore Ouseley, the British Minister at Tehran, the Treaty of Gulistan was concluded between Persia and

[1] Baddeley, p. 63.

[2] Svanetia was only formally incorporated in the Russian Empire in 1833.

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175 Russia. Persia ceded the Khanates of Karabagh (Shusha), Ganja (renamed by the Russians Elisavetopol), Sheki (Nukha), Shirvan (Shemakha), Derbend, Kuba and Baku, together with Lenkoran and part of the Khanate of Talish. Further, Persia relinquished all claims over Georgia, Mingrelia, Imeretia and Abkhazia.

During the same year the Russians subdued the Khevsars, capturing their stronghold, Shatil.

A campaign with varying fortunes had been waged against Turkey from 1807 to 1812, in the course of which the Russians had taken Anaklia and Anapa (1807), Poti (1808) and Akhalkalaki (1811), while they received the submission of Guria and Abkhazia with Sukhum Kale in 1810. In 1812 however the Emperor Alexander I, anxious for Turkish neutrality during the war with Napoleon, concluded the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Anapa, Poti and Akhalkalaki were restored to the Turks.

In 1825 Abbas Mirza, the able and ambitious son of Fath' Ali Shah, made one more attempt to recover the possessions of Persia in Transcaucasia. He was angry at the arrogant and uncompromising attitude of the Russian Viceroy Yermolov with regard to certain outstanding details of the Treaty of Gulistan, and further was confident that risings among the mountain-tribes and the discontents among the Tatar begs in the newly-annexed Khanates would seriously jeopardise the Russian position. The campaign opened well for the Persians. The distinguished Yermolov acted with strange irresolution, and he lacked regular reserves; a small Russian force capitulated at Akh-Kara-Chai; Ganja and Lenkoran fell; and Baku, Shusha and Gumri (Aleksandropol) were blockaded. However, with the arrival of Paskievich (1826) in the Caucasus and the virtual dismissal of Yermolov the situation changed. The Persians were defeated at Shamkhor and Akstafa; and Paskievich laid siege to Erivan and occupied Nakhichevan. A Persian attack on Echmiadzin was repulsed; and while Erivan capitulated, a small Russian force seized Tabriz, the provincial capital of Abbas Mirza. The Russians then advanced to Urmia and Ardebil, and Abbas Mirza sued for peace. The Treaty of Turkmanchai (1827) gave the Khanates of Erivan, Nakhichevan and Southern Talish to Russia, and finally confirmed the exclusion of Persia from Transcaucasia.

In the following year a Russo-Turkish war broke out, and the Russians after two campaigns succeeded in occupying Anapa, Guria with Poti, and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh with

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the towns of Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki and Khertvis; and advanced as far as Erzerum and Baiburt. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1828) Russia remained in possession of Anapa, and all Guria and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh.

Thus, in three-quarters of a century of war the Russian frontiers had been advanced from the Kuban and the Terek to the Chorokh and the Araxes, and she came into the possession of a territory whose economic possibilities had yet to be realised and whose strategic position gave to her the opportunity of dominating the policies both of Persia and of Turkey.

IV

THE MOUNTAIN WAR (1816–1864)

DURING the thirty years in which the conquest of Transcaucasia was in process, the Russians were engaged simultaneously in organising the vast territories in the North Caucasus which had come under their rule through the gradual settlement of Cossack bands, the expulsion of the native nomad tribes, and the exclusion of the Turks. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Cossacks of the Terek had been virtually independent and associated freely with the native tribes, with whom they came into conflict in mutual raids, but with whom their relations were no more hostile than were those of the tribes with each other. But as the power of the central authority increased, the dividing line between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes became more distinct. On the one hand the Cossacks were organised into *voiskos* or military divisions, and in 1816 forfeited the right of electing their own *atamans*. On the other hand the native tribes, who had fraternised with the free Cossack communities, regarded with suspicion that Muscovite Government which had treated with such harshness the Lowland Tatars and which seemed determined to check the raiding expeditions which had been their occupation for centuries.

Further, the Turkish wars and the constant propaganda of Mussulman mullahs tended to accentuate their distrust and to arouse their fanaticism. The continued independence and hostility of the mountaineers were intolerable to the Russian Government. On the one hand the raids of the mountaineers caused considerable harm to the prosperity of the colonists;

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on the other the military power of the tribes was a constant menace to the difficult line of communications with Transcaucasia, a menace the more dangerous when considered in conjunction with the friendly relations between the mountaineers and the Turks, and the latter's naval control of the Black Sea. In 1816 therefore, when Yermolov became Viceroy of the Caucasus, Russia's military obligations in Europe and in Persia being for the moment eased, it was decided to undertake the reduction of the mountain tribes.

The operations[1] which extended along the whole length of the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over 13,000 feet in height. The Lesghians, further, were the most numerous—at the beginning of the war they are estimated to have numbered nearly 2,000,000—and the most highly organised of all the tribes. And when threatened by superior forces, they would retire into their *auls* or fortified villages, situated on the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These villages were so placed that the artillery of those days could seldom be brought to bear with effect on them, and their capture was only possible by storm—" a formidable business when every individual house has its garrison of desperate men, and still more desperate women. . . . The houses were of stone, two stories high; . . . they were disposed, as far as possible, amphitheatre-wise, so as to enfilade one another, the streets being tortuous and barely wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast; straddled, too, in places by a house furnished

[1] [D.C., In the Mountain War of 1816-64; see cat 116, p 199 -- Analyst]

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with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1]

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians.

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [1] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[1] Properly Ghazi.

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175 669 159 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 726 668 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shamil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Germenchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." 175
"With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors 726
sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one 668
in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?" [1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined 175
themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very 668
efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern 175
tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to [166]
revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of [159]
the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England

● 175 648 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian position in those regions.

175 [66] [59] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

175 727 Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these unfortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in [illegible].

[66] [2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbekr.

2 [i.e., during the Crimean War. - Ed. of T.]

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[facing p. 204]

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V

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 565 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

643 631 But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B.C.	
11th to 6th Cent.	Period of Semitic predominance in South-east Asia Minor, and of Aryan invasions. The Caucasians are driven gradually eastward into the basins of the Kur and Aras. The Cimmerians (later the Alans) probably displace the Kabards and Cherkesses from the steppe north of the Caucasus.
6th to 4th Cent.	Persians predominant in Transcaucasia. Development of a feudal system in Iberia.[1] Writing said to have been introduced by King Pharnavaz.
4th to 2nd Cent.	Iberians,[1] Colchians and Albanians[1] virtually independent. Period of much Hellenic commercial activity in the Euxine.
112-64	The kingdom of the Pontine Arsacids.
64	Roman suzerainty established over the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians.
A.D.	
1st to 7th Cent.	Period of Roman and Persian struggle for the control of Armenia and Transcaucasia. The kingdoms of Lazica, Iberia and Aghovania subject alternately to Rome and Persia. The barbarian tribes, Alans, Huns, Khazars and others constantly invade the lowlands by the Caspian Gates. The Persians try to establish a defensive line from Derbend to Daryal, to which the Romans occasionally make financial contributions. Christianity introduced into Georgia (4th to 5th centuries) and the Greek Emperors found many churches in the western regions (Pitsunda, Nakalevi, etc.).
628	Conclusion of last Græco-Persian War.
637	The Arabs, under Habib, take Erzerum.
639	Stephanos nominated King of Iberia by the Emperor Heraclius.
639-51	The Arabs capture Nakhichevan, Dovin, Derbend and Tiflis. Stephanos driven East of the Suram Mountains. The Dido and other Lesghian tribes conquered.
651-733	Wars between the Arabs and Khazars. Finally Mervan the Obstinate re-establishes the former defensive line Derbend-Daryal. The Lesghians and Alans are subdued and converted to Islam.
8th to early 9th Cent.	Period of great Arab commercial activity and general prosperity in Transcaucasia.
9th Cent.	Gradual decay of the Arab administrative machine. Independent Shahs spring up in Daghestan and Shirvan. The Beni-Jafar Emirs of Tiflis. Orbelians in Kakhetia.
10th Cent.	Rise of the Armenian Bagratids. The kingdoms of Lori and Aghovank.

[1] See p. 229

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	
975	Bagrat III elected King of Abkhazia.
994	He succeeds to the kingdom of Tao.
1001	David, Kuropalat of Basian, leaves his estates to the Byzantine Emperor.
1008 to 1050	Bagrat III inherits the Karthalinian crown. Period of hostilities between the Georgians and Greeks, the latter gradually absorbing the Armenian principalities. Struggle between the Georgian kings and the feudal houses, chief of whom are the Kakhetian Orbelians. Period of church building.
1048	The Seljuk Turks defeat a Graeco-Georgian army.
1071	The Greeks severely defeated at Melasgird.
1072–89	The Turks constantly invade Georgia; capture Tiflis (1088).
1092–1125	David the Restorer, during the period of the Crusades, drives out the Turks; subdues the Orbelians (1105); recaptures Tiflis (1122); founds Gori and Ghelathi.
Dmitri I, 1125–54	Period of warfare against the Mussulmans.
Giorgi II, 1154–84	Georgian frontiers extended to Kars, Ani, Dovin and Ganja. The Emirs of East Caucasia and the Mountain-princes dependent on the Georgian kings. Much prosperity, church-building and Greek culture among the aristocracy. Age of Rustaveli and the great bards.
Thamara, 1184–1212.	
Giorgi IV, Lasha, 1212–20.	Period of Khvarasmian and Mongol Wars. Mongol hegemony established, and Georgian kings nominated by the Il-Khans. Georgia and Mingrelia for a time independent kingdoms, but eventually united under Giorgi the Brilliant. The invasions of the Mountaineers and of the Ottoman Turks. The Black Death (1366) and the campaigns of Timur greatly weaken the country and shake the power of the Monarchy and the Church.
Queen Rusudan, 1220–47.	
David IV, Narin, 1234–93	
David V, Lasha, 1244–69	
Dmitri II, 1271–89, And others.	
Vakhtang II, 1293–1318	
Giorgi V, the Brilliant, 1318–46	
David VII, 1346–60.	
Bagrat V, 1360–95.	
Giorgi VII, 1395–1407.	
Alexander I, 1407–42.	
1442–1722	Georgia is divided into a number of kingdoms and principalities, i.e. Karthalinia and Kakhetia under Persian influence; Akhaltsikh, Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia under Turkish influence; Ksan and the Araghva, Svanetia, Abkhazia, Radsha and Ossetia virtually independent.
16th Cent.	First Cossack settlements.
1586–96	Russian operations against Shamkhal of Tarku.
1619–64	Intrigues of Taimuraz of Kakhetia with the Russians.
1722	Peter the Great's campaign in the Caucasus.
1735	Kislar founded.
1748–97	Revival of Georgian kingdom under Irakli II.
1769.	Todleben's campaign in Transcaucasia.
1774	Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji.
To 1779	Russian organisation of Northern Caucasus. Stavropol and other forts founded.
1783	The Act of Gori. Daryal road and Vladikavkaz begun.

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A.D.	
1785	The Ghazavat of Sheikh Mansur.
1790	The Russians storm Anapa.
1791	Treaty of Jassy.
1795-6	Persian invasion of Georgia. Agha Muhammad sacks Tiflis.
1796	Russians occupy country as far as the Aras, but later withdraw.
1799	The Avars invade Kakhetia.
1800	Giorgi XII surrenders the Georgian crown to Tsar Paul.
1803-6	Viceroyalty of Tsitsianov.
1803	Mingrelia proclaimed a Russian Province.
1807	Russians capture Anaklia, Anapa and Poti from the Turks.
1810	Imeretia, Elisu and Samukh annexed. Guria and Abkhazia seek Russian protection. Jaro-Bielokanis subdued.
1811	Russians capture Akhalkalaki. Georgian Church subordinated to Russian Synod.
1812	Treaty of Bucharest restores losses to the Turks. Persian victory at Sultan-buda. Risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh. Russian victory at Aslanduz.
1813	Treaty of Gulistan. Russians subdue the Khevsurs.
1818-20	Yermolov builds Grozni and Vnezapnaia. Madatov reduces the Lesghian Khanates.
1821	Rising in Imeretia.
1822	The Kabardans subdued. Rising in Guria.
1825	Appearance of Kazi-Mullah and Shamil.
1825-7	Russo-Persian War and Treaty of Turkmanchai.
1827-8	Russo-Turkish War. Russians acquire Anapa, Poti and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh by the Treaty of Adrianople.
1829-32	Russian campaigns against the Murids. Death of Kazi-Mullah, the first Imam.
1834	Death of Hamzad Beg, the second Imam.
1837	Shamil proclaimed third Imam.
1839	Russians take Akhulgo. "The Murid sect has fallen."
1843	Revival of Muridism. Shamil lays siege to Temir Khan Shura.
1844	Daniel, Sultan of Elisu, joins Shamil.
1845	Vorontsov defeated at Dargo in Chechnia, with a loss of nearly 4,000 men.
1846	Shamil's unsuccessful attempt to invade Kabarda and establish communication with the Western tribes.
1851	Haji Murad surrenders to the Russians. Decline of Shamil's power.
1853-5	The Crimean War. Failure of the Allies to co-operate with Shamil. The Kars and Ingur campaigns.
1857	Agrarian rising in Mingrelia.
1859	Shamil surrenders at Gunib.
1862	Cherkess deputies visit England.
1864	Final submission of the Western tribes. Wholesale emigration, with disastrous results to Turkey. Autonomy of Abkhazia abolished.
1870	Autonomy of Mingrelia abolished. Poti-Tiflis railway begun. Chiaturi manganese mines developed.
1871	Death of Shamil at Medina.
1874	Georgian National Army abolished.
1877-8	Russo-Turkish War. Insurrections in Circassia and Daghestan easily repressed. The Russians acquire Batum, Ardahan and Kars by the Treaty of Berlin.

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A.D.		
1880		Emigration of the Ajars to the Brusa district.
1883		Tiflis-Baku railway begun.
1884		Rothschild activity at Batum. Caucasian Viceroyalty abolished. Marxist movement of Gibladze and Ninishvili begins to replace Romantic movement of Chavchavadzé.
1887		Conscription applies to the Caucasus. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvali*.
1896		Union of Railwaymen founded. Return of N. Jordania from Geneva.
1898		Revolt in Chechnia.
1900		Galitsin's Military Law. Outbreak of strikes and arrest of Jordania and others. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvirali* in succession to *Kvali*.
1902		Insurrection in Ossetia.
1905		Revolutionary outbreaks at Tiflis and elsewhere. The "Gurian Republic."
1906		Severe repression in Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria by Alikhanov.
1908		Foundation of "Association of Circassian Émigrés in Turkey."
1914		Outbreak of the Great War. Activities of Kerezelidze.
1915–16		Caucasian Delegation in Berlin, Vienna and Switzerland.
1917.	*March*	Revolution in Petrograd. "Special Caucasian Committee" nominated.—*May*. Fall of the Cadets. First Congress of the Mountaineers at Vladikavkaz.—*Sept*. Second Congress at Vladikavkaz.—*Nov*. The Bolshevik *coup* at Petrograd. Commissariat and Seim organised at Tiflis.—Relations of the Mountaineers with the South-east Union.—*Dec*. 2. "Union of the Mountaineers" proclaimed.—3. Georgian National Congress. Jordania's "All-Russian platform."
1918.	*Jan*.	Invitation to the "Independent Transcaucasian Republic" to attend the Brest negotiations. "Combined action with autonomous Governments of Russia."—*Feb*. 23. Meeting of Transcaucasian Seim. —*March* 2–*April* 13. Negotiations between the Turks and the Transcaucasian Commissariat at Trebizond. Colonel Chermoiev asks assistance from Tiflis against the Bolsheviks, and later attends the negotiations at Trebizond. Georgian Delegation recalled. Jordania: "We shall not sign." Bolsheviks occupy Black Sea coast and Abkhazia.—*April* 14. Turks take Batum.—27–28. Turks take Kars; advance to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. Resignation of Gegéchkori. Declaration of Transcaucasian independence.—*May* 1. Negotiations continued at Batum. Turks recognise "Republic of the Mountaineers." Germans take Sevastopol.—15. Turks take Alexandropol.—25. German troops landed at Poti.—28. Declaration of Georgian independence.—*June*. The National Guard occupy Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi.—*August*. Osset rising at Dushet.—*Sept*. Georgian aggression in Borchalu region. Gegéchkori meets Alexeiev at Ekaterinodar.—*Nov*. Anglo-Turkish Armistice. British occupy Batum and Transcaucasian Railway. Georgian proposals for a Transcaucasian Conference.

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—*Dec.* Armeno-Georgian hostilities, in which the Allied representatives intervene.

1919. *Feb.* Second proposal for Transcaucasian Conference. Mussulman rising in Akhaltsikh region.—*March.* Denikin takes Sochi and occupies Temir Khan Shura. British interference.—*July* 16. Treaty of Alliance between Azerbaijan and Georgia.—*August.* British evacuate Transcaucasia except Batum.—*Nov.* 13. Armeno-Georgian Arbitration Treaty.

1920. *Jan.* 2 Chicherin suggests a Georgian attack on Denikin.—*Jan.* 12. Supreme Council recognises *de facto* independence of Georgia.—*April* 25–*May* 2. Bolsheviks threaten Sukhum and Gori, and seize the Poti bridge over the Kur. Bolshevist outbreak at Tiflis. *May* 11. Georgians occupy Artvin.—*June* 12. Russo-Georgian Treaty. Kirov sent to Tiflis.—*June* 9. Allies "transfer" Batum to Georgia.—*Dec.* Turko-Bolshevist attack on Armenia. Georgians occupy Ardahan and Ardanuch.

1921. *Jan.* Allies recognise *de jure* independence of Georgia.—*End of Feb.–March.* Bolshevist attack on Georgia. Occupation of Tiflis, Mtzkhet and Gori. Turks enter Ardaghan, Ardanuch, Artvin and Batum. Bolshevists advance by Sukhum to Poti; occupy Kutais. Drive the Turks out of Batum, and proclaim a Soviet Republic in Tiflis and Batum. *March* 16. Treaty signed at Moscow cedes Artvin and Ardahan to Turkey, with right of free transit to Batum.

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§ 5. History

Just as we have omitted the Cimmerian problem and the many interesting facts regarding the Scythians when speaking of the archaeology of the Caucasus, so too in our historical survey we must omit many an important fact and problem. We wish here merely to present a short sketch, as a preliminary orientation. We shall have occasion to speak of certain periods more in detail later on.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. According to legend, the Cherkess were at one time a powerful pastoral people, occupying an extensive area north of the Caucasus. Although it is impossible to say just when the Cherkess immigrated and from where, we do know that they must have made the Caucasus their home long before the ancient writers were aware of their existence. The Latin and Greek writers speak of them as the Zygoi, Zinkhoi, Syndi, Kerketaioi, and Kerketa. It seems that from very early times enemies had been driving the Cherkess towards the mountains. In the fourteenth century of our era, the coastal tribes were forced farther south, till they finally occupied a sector between various Turco-Tartaric peoples, the Nogai, Kumyks, Karachai, and Taulu. The land they occupied was called Kabarda and they are known today as the Kabardians. In 1777 the Russians drove the remaining Cherkess beyond the Kuban, Malka, and Terek, and finally completely conquered them. Rather than submit to the Russian czar, a large number of Northwesterners (400,000 strong, Cherkess, Abkhaz, and all the Ubykhs) preferred to leave their homeland and migrate to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkans.

The Abkhaz were known to Pliny and Arrian as the Apsils and to the Georgian Chronicler as Apshili and Apsari. In the first centuries after Christ the Abkhaz were subjects of the Georgian kings; then of the Laz; then in the eighth century of their own independent kings; in the tenth century they again became subjects of Georgian kings, through marriage of the respective royal families. They were finally subjected to the Russians in 1863.

The Northwesterners were Christianized, according to Vakhtang's Chronicle, about A. D. 40. This report of course is not reliable. It is a fact, however, that they became Christians after the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian is supposed to have built a large church at Pitzunda, which became the seat of the Abkhazian *katholicos* ("patriarch" or "archbishop"). In the last decades of the seventeenth century all the Abkhazian tribes (with the exception of the Samursakhanians) became Mohammedans. The Cherkess were also Christians, before their conversion to Islamism in the eighteenth century.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The origin of the Chechens and their early history is unknown. They too were Christianized quite early, perhaps in the fourth century. They accepted the Koran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century; the Ingushi, however, were not completely converted to Mohammedanism till 1862. The Chechens, we also know, have been constantly menaced by the Turco-Mongols since the time of Chingis-Khan. Later they even invited foreign princes to rule over them and defend them against the Kumyks and Lezgian raiders. Last century they fought valiantly against the Russians in the Murid wars under the leadership of Gazi-Mollah and Shamyl.

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The Lesghians were known to the classical writers as the "Lesghi." The early history of the various Lesghian peoples is uncertain. Before their conversion to Islamism in the eighth century they were worshippers of Ahura Mazda. Shamyl, the famous prophet, reformer, warrior, and leader, was a Lesghian. 175

The history of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS is much better known. The ancient Latin and Greek writers speak of the kingdoms of Colchis, Lazica, Albania, and Iberia. The Scythians ruled over Georgia in the seventh century. Later the Georgian kingdoms were forced to recognize the Roman protectorate. Pompey conquered the Albanians in 66 B. C., Iberia in 65 B. C., and Colchis in 63 B. C. In A. D. 224, the Sassanidae attacked East Georgia; Diocletian quickly came to the aid of the Caucasians, conquered the Persians, and thus Iberia was once again subject to the Romans. Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia under Constantine the Great.

The OSSETES are most probably the descendents of the Alans, and therefore of the Scythians as well. They seem to be the descendents of some survivors who took refuge in the mountains. In the first century A. D., we know, they occupied the area between the Don and the Sea of Azov. Then, in the ninth century they were driven southward by the Khazars, in the twelfth century by the Mongols, and finally, in the fourteenth century by the Kabardians, who themselves were being driven into the mountains by the Tartars.

The TURCO-TARTARS. The Karachai are most probably the descendents of Tartars who had been forced to occupy an isolated valley in the mountains. The Taulu are perhaps descendents of the Tartars who lived in the steppes of Kuma. After their city (Ma'zhar) had been destroyed in 1408, they sought refuge in the Caucasus.[31]

§ 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most ethnographers and ethnologists are under the false impression that only very little has been published about the Caucasus. This impression has been created, first of all, because most of the material has been written in a strange language—strange to English, French, German, and Italian speaking scientists—Russian. And even if the student of Caucasian culture has a fair knowledge of Russian, he must still face an even more discouraging difficulty. This Russian material is scattered in periodicals that are difficult to find even in the best non-Russian libraries, scattered in rare magazines or books that appeared in extremely small editions exclusively for members of learned societies and finally were shelved and forgotten in an obscure corner of some small library. These are the obstacles one must face in one's search for pre-Soviet sources. The more recent (Soviet) publications, especially recent Georgian publications, are very poorly represented outside the U.S.S.R., even in the large 114

[31] Cf. Behan, "Die kaukasischen Völker." Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* III, pp. 671—675, 749 f., 774 f., 799 f., 835; A. Sanders, *Kaukasien, Nordkaukasien, Aserbeidschan, Armenien, Georgien. Geschichtlicher Umriss*, Munich, 1944; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1932; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223—1502*, Leipzig, 1943.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1200 B.C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. [illegible] new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the [illegible] Maeotes, Sindae, Sauro-

175 [illegible] submitting to the newcomers.

The contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. [illegible] the history of this region—in the first century B.C. Crimea [illegible] the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman [illegible] in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century [illegible] the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars, Avars, and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; [illegible] ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kipchaks and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were [illegible] tributary to the Mongols.

107 A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince [illegible] that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are [illegible] probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs [illegible] to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. [illegible] besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples [illegible] Kalmuck, Kumyk, etc.

1758 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very begin- [illegible] pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 [illegible] throw light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the [illegible] Caucasians' marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral [illegible] This contact although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and [illegible] considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

14 39 [illegible] not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity [illegible] organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient [illegible] family and then the common features of the Altai society. [illegible] shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) [illegible] coming from the North; [illegible] linguistics proclaims the same

[illegible] Halbsiatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur [illegible] *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaften für Anthro-* [illegible] LXXIII—LXXVII [illegible]

[illegible] the Leghians (bearing the same name. The Avars [illegible] and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[illegible] the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the [illegible]

[illegible] The Ossetes (or Ossetes, especially certain tribes, have a strong Cau- [illegible] [illegible] Ossetic groups have been actually Georgianized.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH2

VII

THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS

The Caucasus means more to the Russians than either Russian Central Asia or the Russian Far East. The bonds between Russia and the Caucasus are strong and real and no official propaganda efforts are needed to prove their existence. The idea of the 'Russian Caucasus' will be alive among the Russian people as long as they continue to honour and read their great poets, because the Caucasus has become part and parcel of Russian national tradition through the works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy. /101

Lermontov's works in particular show that the Russians have interpreted the word 'Caucasus' not as a purely geographical notion, but as a whole period of Russian history and a political programme strongly flavoured with romanticism. While deploring the end of the primitive freedom of the Caucasus peoples Lermontov, like Pushkin, considered the final triumph of Russian civilization over the Caucasus tribes to be an unavoidable historical necessity. Thus the two greatest Russian poets gave to the Caucasian peoples identical advice, namely to reconcile themselves to the victory of the Russians.

Pushkin has expressed this conviction in the phrase: 'Humble thyself, Caucasus, for Yermolov* is coming'. Lermontov, on the other hand, predicted to the Circassians that one day they would proudly say 'We may truly be slaves, but at least we are slaves of the ruler of the Universe!' Since Lermontov's time Russia's power has grown considerably and the service of a great master has indeed become the dubious consolation not only of the Caucasian peoples but of many others besides, throughout the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Caucasus did not act in accordance with Pushkin's and Lermontov's admonitions; they stubbornly fought Russia and struggled desperately for their freedom, because they did not realize the tremendous odds they were facing. They were too remote from the world of political and diplomatic realities of the nineteenth century to understand either the hopelessness of their own situation or the power of the Russian Empire. They deceived themselves by the erroneous supposition 1750

* General Yermolov (1772–1863) was the principal Russian hero of the Caucasus conquest.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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that Russia would not fight for the barren Caucasus mountains if she were really as great and mighty as was sometimes asserted by some mountaineers who had seen her immensity and later returned to their own people.[1]

THE FIRST EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

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The mountaineers of the Western Caucasus – the Circassians or the Adyge – who had lived close to the shores of the Black Sea, occupied particularly important strategic positions. In every war which Russia waged against Turkey the fearless Circassians had constituted a grave menace in the immediate rear of the Russian Caucasus front. The alternatives, from the Russian point of view, therefore, could only be either the total surrender or the total annihilation of the Circassians. As only a minority of the Circassians were ready to accept surrender, a mass migration of the Circassians to Turkey appeared the only possible 'solution', both to the Russian conquerors and the Circassians themselves, whose indomitable spirit of freedom could not be reconciled with Russian rule.

Thus between 1861 and 1864 about 500,000 Circassians left the Caucasus; but owing to starvation, disease and the hardships of the journey in overcrowded vessels, it is said that only half of them ever reached Turkey alive. Referring to this trek of the Circassians a semi-official Russian publication admitted that 'a calamity of such proportions has rarely befallen humanity'.[2] This great exodus of the Circassians disposed of the problem of nationalities in large areas of the western part of the North Caucasus region and opened them up to Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian colonization.

After the departure of the Circassians a great deal still remained to be done in the North Caucasus region from a Russian national point of view. Although thousands of Chechens, Nogai Tartars and Ossetins had likewise participated in the great exodus, these and other peoples of the Central and Eastern Caucasus continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Russian State. Complete Russian victory over the rebellious mountaineers was achieved only under the Soviet régime.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHAOS IN THE SOVIET CAUCASUS

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The Russian communist leaders came to the Northern Caucasus with progressive ideas and plans for raising the material and cultural level of its peoples. The Soviet Government was originally even determined to give the small mountain peoples a chance to combine their forces and thus become a political factor of some importance. In accordance with the wishes of the more advanced mountaineers the Soviet Government decided that there should be one United Northern Caucasus

THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

[Chechen]

displaying worthy resistance to the enemy, derailing trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.[3] Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

Only a few weeks after Kalinin had made his panegyric statement little was left of the Caucasian 'miracle', and of the idyllic situation which the Soviet President had depicted. When the German armies occupied the Northern Caucasus region many mountaineers manifested their hostility towards the Soviet régime. They attempted to use the retreat of the Red Army to free themselves from what they considered the 'Russian yoke'. Over twenty years of Soviet rule had not altered their ingrained conviction that Russia's foes were their friends. These peoples apparently thought that they owed as little loyalty to Russia as the Indonesians deemed themselves to owe to the Dutch and the Vietnamese to the French when their respective countries were occupied by Japan. In the official Soviet view, of the seven peoples who in 1920 had formed the Mountain Republic four had shown themselves particularly unreliable in the crucial winter of 1942–43. They were the Chechens (407,600 according to the 1939 census), the Ingush (92,074), the Balkars (42,660) and the Karachay (75,737). After the North Caucasus region had been cleared of the invaders, the Soviet Government found itself unable to forgive these nationalities for their disloyalty or even their indifference. It also abandoned all further attempts to transform them into good citizens of the U.S.S.R.[1] and expelled them from the 'happy family of Soviet peoples'. All of them lost the special territorial administrative units which the Stalin Constitution of 1936 had bestowed on them.[2] Early in 1944 they were rounded up and deported to far away places in Siberia. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist. Thus were abolished the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous S.S.R. and the Autonomous Province of the Karachay. The Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. was transformed into the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. after having been relieved of the 'burden' of the Balkar traitors.

Soviet policy in the Northern Caucasus differed to some extent from Czarist policy since it resulted in the building of schools, theatres, libraries and hospitals, but for the four deported nationalities all this had been of little use. From their point of view there is hardly any difference between the policy of General Yermolov and that of Generalissimo Stalin. Indeed, the Soviet régime deprived at least as many Caucasian mountaineers of their homes as did the Czarist régime.

CONTINUITY OF RUSSIAN CAUCASUS POLICY: THE CHECHENS

The Chechens, as the most numerous nationality left in the Northern Caucasus after the emigration of the Circassians, offer a particularly good example of the continuity of Russian policy. The Large Soviet Encyclopædia rightly summed up the historical role of the Chechens by Ca. 563 175

1 [Cf. category 11b, pp. 182-184, RL Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 11b, p. 183, RL Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH2
[Chechen]

describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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[Osset]

territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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VIII

TRANSCAUCASIA

TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN HISTORY

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Russia swept beyond the Caucasus and established her rule in Transcaucasia decades before the peoples of the Caucasus mountains themselves were fully pacified and subjected to Russian rule.

The benefit which Russia derived from taking possession of Transcaucasia is similar to that gained by an upstart ruler through an alliance with a princess of royal blood: namely, making his own a tradition in which he had been lacking.

By becoming linked with Armenian history, for instance, Russian history established a link with antiquity, with ancient Egypt, Assyria and Persia, with Alexander the Great and, finally, with the Roman Empire. Soviet historians indeed proudly recall that it was the Armenians, 'a people of the Soviet Union', who, under the leadership of their king, Tigran the Great, had defeated the 'invincible Roman legions' of Lucullus and this fact could not be altered even if at a later stage Armenia did become a vassal kingdom whose rulers were given the title of 'friend of the Roman Empire'.[1]

Both Armenians and Georgians had their written alphabets more than 1,000 years before the introduction of the Cyrillic script on which the Russian alphabet was ultimately based. The latest discoveries of Soviet scholars have even led to the assumption that the Georgian alphabet originated not later than the seventh century before Jesus Christ.

It is true that the history of the peoples of Russian Central Asia, which was annexed half a century later than Transcaucasia, also goes back to antiquity. However, by incorporating the Georgian and Armenian lands Russia was able to put to her credit not only general historic traditions, as in the case of Central Asia, but also an ancient Christian tradition. Both the Georgians and the Armenians had been converted to Christendom at the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. earlier than most of the peoples in the Occident and about 700 years before the conversion of the Russians.

In annexing Western and Central Transcaucasia the Russians had the proud satisfaction of having brought safely into the orbit of Christian civilization two peoples who for many centuries had been exposed to

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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permanent and violent pressure and persecution, on the part of Oriental, non-Christian powers. The Russians avenged the sufferings and hardships which both Armenians and Georgians had endured from Turkish and Persian overlords. Although the primary motives of the Russians were hardly of an exclusively humanitarian nature they could claim, with some justification, that they acted in Georgia and Armenia as a protecting rather than as a colonial power.

The case of Azerbaidzhan, which covers Eastern Transcaucasia, is altogether different; unlike the Georgian and Armenian 'protectorates' that country has more the character of a colony. Azerbaidzhan is, indeed, the only part of Transcaucasia where Russian colonization has been conducted on a large scale.

In Western Transcaucasia the influx of Russian elements has always remained insignificant even if Russian cultural influences are promoted there as strongly as anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The two principal peoples of Western Transcaucasia, the Georgians and Armenians, enjoy a special privileged position. They are expected to encourage Russian state interests in their area, as it were, by their own initiative, but without visible interference by Russian colonists who in other Soviet Republics occupy commanding posts in cultural and economic life.

Nominally, Georgia and Armenia have the same status as Kirghizistan or Uzbekistan, but their actual status is on a higher level. Georgia is the only Soviet Republic, apart from the R.S.F.S.R., forming a miniature federation which includes two Autonomous Republics and one Autonomous Province. Thus the Georgians exercise within the framework of the Soviet constitution a certain guardianship over other peoples, a role which the Russians claim for themselves practically everywhere else in the Soviet Union. Armenia again is not only the State of the Armenians within the Soviet Union but also the spiritual home of the Armenian people scattered all over the globe.

TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Politically and strategically the whole of Transcaucasia forms a Russian wedge driven into the Middle East which has every possible chance of expanding. Lermontov seems to have felt the tremendous implications which the submission of the Caucasus mountains to Russian rule may have for both Russia and the peoples of the East. He may have had a premonition that the conquest of the Caucasus would open a new chapter in the history of many lands situated to the South of the great mountain system. In Lermontov's prophetic poem 'Dispute', two Caucasus mountains, Kazbek and Shat, talk to each other. Shat warns Kazbek of the 'powerful East crowded with people', but he fails to